

THE INFLUENCE OF CHICAGO UPON ABRAHAM LINCOLN

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE
THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY ON FEBRUARY 10, 1922

By WILLIAM E. BARTON
Author of *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*
The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln, etc.



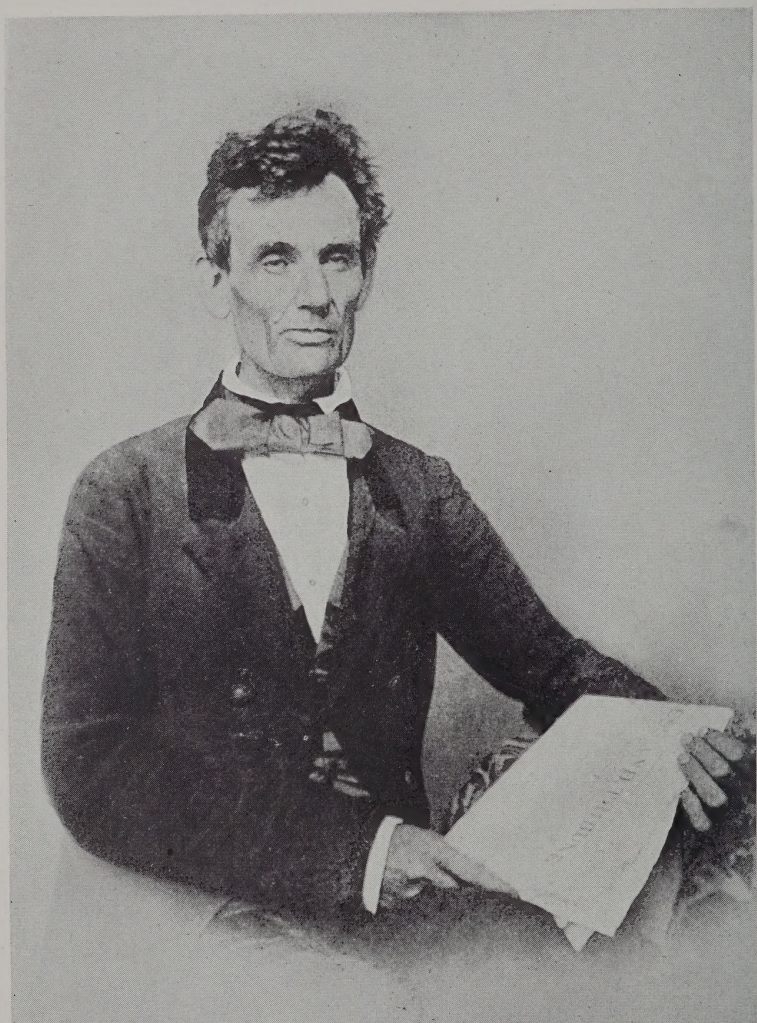
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LINCOLN READING THE "PRESS AND TRIBUNE"
1854

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FOREWORD

It was my privilege to deliver an address in Springfield, in May, 1921, before the State Historical Society of Illinois, on "The Influence of Illinois upon the Career of Abraham Lincoln." While preparing that address it occurred to me that a similar presentation might profitably be made of "The Influence of the City of Chicago upon the Career of Lincoln." In each case, I was surprised to discover how little had previously been done in so fruitful and rewarding a field. The invitation of the Chicago Historical Society to deliver the annual Lincoln's Day Address in 1922 was welcomed by me as affording incentive to some further study of this subject—a subject which can but be of permanent interest to this city and of value in our knowledge of Lincoln.

I have not had time to attempt a complete compilation of visits of Lincoln to Chicago; nor, for the purposes of this address, is such a compilation necessary. Perhaps some member of this Society of which Lincoln was an honorary member, and in which he had many active supporters, someone who has more leisure than I, will diligently read the Chicago papers to the end of 1860 for record of other visits; and those persons who know of visits of Lincoln to this city, not herein mentioned, will kindly communicate with me. The list here given is much more comprehensive than any hitherto published, and for the purposes of this address is deemed adequate. My thanks are due to Miss McIlvaine, of the Chicago Historical Society, and to The Newberry Library for valued assistance.

WILLIAM E. BARTON

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
OAK PARK, ILLINOIS
February 10, 1922

THE INFLUENCE OF CHICAGO UPON ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Every form of life is affected and in part determined by its environment. The lives of men offer no exception to this biological rule. Men become what they are partly by the forces inherent within themselves, and partly by the stimulus or repression of environment.

The life of Abraham Lincoln cannot be understood apart from his successive environments. His progress from the log cabin of his birth to the White House where he finished his notable career was not accomplished by means of balloon and parachute; there was an orderly and logical development from one stage of his life to another. Kentucky and Indiana served, each of them, to prepare him for his later development. Their share in his preparation is honorable and significant. His environment in Illinois was notably favorable to this evolution. In another address I have attempted to trace the influence upon his development of this, the state to which he came only a few weeks after he celebrated his twenty-first birthday, and in which he continued to reside and labor until he departed for his inauguration as president of the United States. The influence of Illinois upon the career of Lincoln is clear, and it is one to make every Illinoisan proud. It is interesting, and may not be unprofitable, to inquire what share, if any, Chicago, the chief city of Illinois, had in the development of Abraham Lincoln.

LINCOLN A RURAL PRODUCT

Lincoln was a product of the forest and the farm. So distinctly rural were the backgrounds of his career, he may

not have been aware that any city contributed notably to his success. When he emerged from the solitudes of the backwoods, it was to find companionship in the country stores at Gentryville and New Salem; and when he left the stores and the village behind, it was for a long experience with county-seat towns, all new and primitive and poor, in central and southern Illinois. The farm and the forest still bounded at no great distance the narrow horizons of his professional life.

What is true of the early life of Lincoln as to the influence of rural origin, is true in greater or less degree of nearly all men of note in America. They sprang from the soil. But nearly all of those who achieved eminence emerged into urban life as Lincoln did. It has been said that every railway train passing through the rural regions is a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night luring the young life of America from the farm to the city. The forceful and effective life of America is born upon the farm. The city has the constant cry of the three daughters of the horseleach. It cries to the country, "Give, give!" and the country gives ever of its young life. But the men who have wrought mightily have not remained upon the farm. They have made their way out among men. If they have not actually lived in the city their lives have been shaped by its influence.

Cities had no part in the shaping of Lincoln's early life. The first city that he ever visited was New Orleans, and it influenced his career by deepening within him a hatred of slavery, which he had always believed to be wrong. The life of New Orleans as a city, however, produced no known effect upon him.

The first city in which Lincoln lived very nearly paralyzed him by its magnificence. Springfield, with its four hundred inhabitants, its muddy streets, and its live stock running at large, was to him a lonesome place. He did not attend

church in the early months of his residence there, because, as he wrote, he did not know how to act. He saw what he described as a great deal of "flourishing about in carriages," and he felt the isolation of his position as a man too poor to hope that he might ever participate in such luxury or share it with the woman who was in some peril of becoming his wife. He told Mary Owens about the glories of Springfield as something which he saw but felt to be hopelessly unattainable.

But Springfield as he came to know it, and as Mary Todd plunged him into its social vortex, had its marked and, on the whole, its very helpful influence upon him. Springfield is the city of Lincoln. To that city he owed more than to any other, and that city owes more to Lincoln than it can ever appreciate.

Lincoln never lived in Chicago, although at one time he contemplated the possibility of making this city his home. His visits to this city were relatively infrequent. His friends in the early years of his career, and to a considerable extent in his later years, were from central and southern Illinois. When we recall their names we remember how large was the influence upon him of men who had not much dealing with Chicago. They were such men as John T. Stuart, Stephen T. Logan, Ninian W. Edwards, Joshua F. Speed, Ward Hill Lamon, David Davis, Stephen A. Douglas, James Shields, Edward D. Baker, William H. Herndon, Lyman Trumbull, Orville H. Browning, Joseph Gillespie, and Jesse W. Fell. Leonard Swett did not become a Chicago resident until 1865. These were all men of central or southern Illinois. With Ebenezer Peck, of Chicago, whom he met as a brother legislator in the General Assembly of 1840-42, he formed a close personal friendship that ended only with his life. Not till his career was well established did he come to know Norman B. Judd, Joseph Medill, Grant Goodrich, J. Young Scammon, Isaac N. Arnold, and

the large group of Chicago men who were influential in politics. What, if anything, did Chicago contribute to the making of Abraham Lincoln?

WHEN DID LINCOLN FIRST VISIT CHICAGO?

It would be interesting to learn when Lincoln first visited Chicago. He did not visit this city during the Black Hawk War. We know his route from New Salem to Beardstown, to Ottawa, to Dixon, to Wisconsin, and back. He can be accounted for on practically every day from his departure to his return. He did not visit Chicago.

Professor Julius E. Olson, of the University of Wisconsin, believes that Lincoln visited Port Washington, Sheboygan, and Milwaukee in 1835 or 1836. This belief rests upon the testimony of "Captain" Berger, of Port Washington, a non-commissioned officer who stated that he met Lincoln at Fortress Monroe, and that Lincoln told him that he stopped overnight in Port Washington, Berger's home town. If Lincoln made this visit to Port Washington and Milwaukee, the presumption is strong that he passed through Chicago going or coming, and possibly both. Professor Olson has told of this, and other interesting data, in an address on "Lincoln in Wisconsin," published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September, 1920.

Judge Henry W. Blodgett, in his *Autobiography*, relates that in the early part of June, 1844, when he was a law student in the office of J. Young Scammon, one of the most prominent Chicago lawyers of the period, Lincoln called at the office. This narrative is utilized, as is also the earlier one of Professor Olson, in an interesting and valuable article by Mr. J. Seymour Currey, of Evanston, in the *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* for October, 1919.

These are the two earliest visits for which there is any authority, and each rests upon the testimony of a single,

though truthful, witness. But it seems strange that there should be no concurrent testimony; and memory plays unaccountable pranks with even truthful men.

SOME OF THE IMPORTANT VISITS OF LINCOLN TO CHICAGO

1. *The River and Harbor Convention of 1847.*—The first visit of Lincoln to Chicago, of which there is contemporary proof, occurred July 5, 6, and 7, 1847, when Lincoln spent several days in this city as a delegate from Sangamon County to the River and Harbor Convention. This was the event that put Chicago on the map. Lake steamers were chartered at Buffalo and other ports, and noted men came to Chicago from New York, New England, and even from the South.

So far as I am aware, no biographer of Lincoln has ever heard of the River and Harbor Convention of 1847. I do not find it mentioned by Nicolay and Hay, by Arnold, by Morse, by Miss Tarbell, or by any other biographer of Lincoln. But it was that which first certainly brought Lincoln to Chicago. The Chicago papers, truthful then as always, stated that this was the first visit of the Honorable A. Lincoln to the metropolis of the state. He was more welcome than he might have been at some earlier periods in his career. In the first place, he was the only Whig member of Congress from Illinois, was just elected, and had not yet taken his seat. In the second place, he was thoroughly committed to the policy of developing inland waters and of connecting the lakes with the rivers. It will some time become the duty of the historian to show what the Convention did for Abraham Lincoln.

The presiding officer of that Convention was Edward Bates, of Missouri. Lincoln probably did not know it at the time, but then and there he formed the impression which later made Bates a member of his Cabinet. It was there

that Lincoln first heard Horace Greeley, and Greeley heard Lincoln in a short and tactful speech. Greeley did not know it, but he was forming an impression of Lincoln, which thirteen years later was to influence his judgment in accepting Lincoln as the compromise candidate who could not only defeat Seward in the Convention, but defeat the Democratic nominee in the election following. What Lincoln came to learn of the qualities essential to unifying his own state went far toward making him capable of unifying the nation.

The first certain evidence of a visit of Lincoln to Chicago is, so far as I am aware, the following account found in the *Chicago Journal* of July 6, 1847. Richard L. Wilson was editor of the *Journal* at this time:

Abraham Lincoln, the only Whig representative to Congress from this state, we are happy to see in attendance upon the Convention. This is his first visit to the commercial emporium of the state, and we have no doubt his first visit will impress him more deeply, if possible, with the importance, and inspire a higher zeal for the great interest of the River-and-Harbor improvements.

We expect much from him as a representative in Congress, and we have no doubt our expectation will be more than realized, for never was reliance placed in a nobler heart and a sounder judgment. We know the banner he bears will never be soiled.

The River and Harbor Convention of 1847 grew out of the veto of the River and Harbor Bill, on August 3, 1846, by President James K. Polk. That bill had contained appropriations of \$15,000 for the harbor of Buffalo, \$20,000 for Cleveland, \$40,000 for the St. Clair flats, \$80,000 for Milwaukee, Racine, Chicago, and other nearby ports, and sums for other lake harbors.

President Polk affirmed that as these ports were not harbors of vessels used in international trade, "It would seem the dictate of wisdom under such circumstances to husband our means and not waste them on comparatively unimportant objects."

The *Chicago Journal* in an indignant editorial inquired whether this same James K. Polk was not squandering millions upon an invasion of Mexico for the sake of the extension of slavery? Was he not buying steamboats at exorbitant prices for use in the transportation of troops and supplies to Mexico, and leaving our legitimate commerce on the lakes unprotected with lives liable to be lost for the lack of safe harbors, a great territory of our own undeveloped, while he sought to acquire other territory by bloody means and for ignoble ends? What an insult to the intelligence of the nation for him to declare that these lake harbors were "comparatively unimportant objects"!

The great convention which assembled in Chicago on July 5, 1847, came to protest against James K. Polk and all his works, to advance the interests of the lake harbors, and incidentally to promote the welfare of the Whig Party. The significance of that convention has never been adequately understood.¹

The attendance upon the River and Harbor Convention was not limited to residents of lake cities. There were seven delegates from Connecticut, one from Florida, two from Georgia, twelve from Iowa, two from Kentucky, two from Maine, twenty-eight from Massachusetts, forty-five from Missouri, two from New Hampshire, eight from New Jersey, twenty-seven from Pennsylvania, three from Rhode Island, one from South Carolina. I have not tried to count the long lists from New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. These are all listed by counties in the report of the Convention, and show a widespread representation from all parts of these states. The Convention was felt to be of vast economic interest and was by no means lacking in political importance. Theoretically it was

¹ I am indebted to Mr. James Shaw, of Aurora, for first calling my attention to the significance of this convention.

assembled for the consideration of internal improvements; but in addition to this it was convened for the purpose of opposing James K. Polk and all his political associations.

Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Thomas H. Benton, Lewis Cass, and other national leaders, all were invited, and responded in letters, that of Webster especially being a document of considerable size and importance. Anson Burlingame headed the Massachusetts delegation, and Ohio followed the lead of Thomas Corwin.

Horace Greeley was there, and he wrote up the Convention for the *New York Tribune*, and ever afterward advised young men to "go West and grow up with the country." Thurlow Weed reported it in full for the *Albany Journal*, of which he was editor, and gave an interesting account of his own journey round the lakes on "the magnificent steamer 'Empire.'"

The political aspects of the Convention are suggested by the fact that Lewis Cass, of Michigan, which state would especially have benefited by river and harbor improvements, remained away when he could have come, and sent a very distant note of regret,² while Daniel Webster from Massachusetts wrote a letter in which he came out unqualifiedly for all that the Convention stood for. Cass wanted to be president and greatly needed the vote of the slave states; Webster's position was, of course, that of a politician who greatly desired to link the political and economic future of the new states with the North and East.

David Dudley Field was present to speak for the administration. He did it with shrewdness. Greeley gives the gist of his address. The Convention did not treat him any too courteously and Lincoln followed with his speech, a tactful one, of which we have no report, but which appears to have

² The *Journal*, in 1848, published this note in a miniature pamphlet one inch high, containing a facsimile of the document.

stood for fair play while being ardently in favor of the whole plan of internal improvements. The Convention at its next session apologized to Mr. Field for the uncivil treatment he had received, but did not alter its program or change its convictions on account of this apology for its bad manners.

The River and Harbor Convention of 1847 did more than any previous or subsequent assembly to link the fortunes of the great state of Illinois with the North and East.

It must have been a very illuminating event to Lincoln. It was his first significant visit to Chicago, perhaps his first view of the Great Lakes. It was his first important reminder that while he was elected from central Illinois he, as the only Whig member of Congress from the state, must find his political support thereafter, largely in the newer portion of the state where the Whigs were more fully in control. It must have reminded him, and he was soon to be rudely reminded again, that Chicago, and northern Illinois with her, was thenceforth to be reckoned with as an important political as well as economic factor. He had helped to effect the unity of Illinois by a canal connecting the lakes with the rivers; whether this was ever accomplished or not, the whole future of Illinois, central and southern as well as northern, was tied up with Chicago, and through Chicago with the East and North. Illinois, with her whole western boundary washed by the Mississippi, her southern border hemmed in by the Ohio, and a large part of her eastern border determined by the Wabash, and with these streams bearing their cargoes through slave territory to New Orleans, was an indivisible, political, and economic unit, bound by Chicago and the Great Lakes to New York, New England, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

2. *Lincoln's campaign speech for Taylor and Fillmore.*—So far as I have been able to discover, the first formal address which Lincoln delivered in Chicago was on October 6, 1848.

He had been delivering campaign speeches in New England, and returned by Niagara Falls and Lake Erie. He and his family were at the Sherman House on Friday, October 6, and he was waited upon and invited to deliver a campaign address. Although the notice was short, "only six hours," the courthouse was filled to overflowing, and adjournment had to be taken to the Public Square, where Honorable Abram Lincoln, as the *Journal* called him, and as the Chicago papers continued to call him until 1861, spoke for two hours. On the following day, Saturday, Lincoln and his family departed for Springfield.

3. *Lincoln's eulogy on Zachary Taylor.*—The next visit of which I find record was July 25, 1850. Lincoln arrived here July 7, 1850, and was here probably until the adjournment of the United States District Court, Monday, July 29. He may have gotten away at the end of the preceding week. Two days after his arrival in the city, President Zachary Taylor died in Washington. The news reached Chicago that same day, and an informal meeting, apparently of Whig leaders, was held that night to arrange for a memorial service. The Common Council, a few nights later, took action of like nature. Mr. Lincoln was chosen as the official eulogist, and delivered the address at the courthouse on July 25, 1850.³

4. *Lincoln's visit to Honorable Isaac N. Arnold in 1854.*—From 1850 till 1854, Lincoln must frequently have visited Chicago, but I have glanced through the files of the Chicago papers of the period without discovering any public addresses. Probably a more minute search would disclose some short paragraphs giving his name, perhaps with those

³ This address I discovered in the files of the *Chicago Journal*, preserved in the Chicago Historical Society; and it has just issued (October, 1922) from the press of Houghton Mifflin & Co., with the full text, as set from Lincoln's own manuscript, and an introduction by the present author.

of other prominent out-of-town lawyers, attending court in the city. My search has not been sufficiently minute to discover any of these in this period. During this time Lincoln was practically out of politics, and his coming and going was of less general concern than it had been or was to be.

While Lincoln usually slept at the Sherman House or some other hotel while in Chicago, he frequently dined with personal friends, and more than once was at the Arnold home. Mr. Arnold, who was member of Congress from the Chicago district during the whole of Lincoln's administration, was held in high regard by the president, who trusted his judgment. Arnold's *Life of Lincoln* is of great value. Unfortunately, the surviving members of the Arnold family, Miss Catherine Arnold and Mrs. Henry M. Hooper, while remembering distinctly the visits of Lincoln to their home, have no record of the dates of such visits.

The date of Lincoln's 1854 visit was not November 17, when a group of Republican leaders met to organize the State Republican Committee. Lincoln was invited to be a member of that Committee, but did not receive the invitation in time to attend. Moreover, he was not as yet sure that he was ready to leave the Whig Party. The fact of his invitation and his characteristic caution are shown in his letter of November 27, 1854, to Ichobod Coddington, which is contained in Nicolay and Hay's *Complete Works* and need not be reprinted here.

The date we seek is apparently supplied by Andreas, in his *History of Chicago*. In April, 1854, Lincoln attended a meeting, not of avowed Republicans, but of Democrats and Whigs opposed to the course of Stephen A. Douglas in the Senate. The conference was held in Room 4, Tremont House. It was attended by Abraham Lincoln, Lyman Trumbull, Mark Skinner, O. H. Browning, John E. Stewart,

David Davis, Norman B. Judd, J. Young Scammon, Francis C. Sherman, and others. These pledged themselves to the support of an "Anti-Nebraska" candidate, a step toward the new alignment of political interests in Illinois and throughout the nation.⁴

Additional evidence that Mr. Lincoln was in Chicago in 1854 is found in a photograph alleged to have been made in that year. It represents Lincoln as reading the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, and was the property of Mr. George Schneider, then editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*. It is said that Lincoln, being in Chicago in 1854, on the invitation of Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, dined with him and Colonel Schneider. After this midday meal in the home of Mr. Arnold, as the men were on their way down town, they stopped at the gallery of an itinerant Daguerrean artist and Lincoln had his picture taken for Colonel Schneider. He is shown holding in his hands a copy of the *Press and Tribune*, the headline of which shows plainly in the photograph.

I have endeavored to learn through the *Tribune* the date of this photograph, and through the *Staats-Zeitung* the date of Lincoln's dining with their editor, but have failed to ascertain the date from either. I accept April, 1854, as the probable date of the photograph, and the incident as correct.

Lincoln in that year was returning to politics, and still thought himself a Whig; but the dissolution of the Whig Party was at hand. Lincoln was doubtless much in conference concerning the future of political organizations in Illinois and the nation.

The conference with Colonel Schneider is significant. The Germans who had come to America in 1848 were a liberty-loving company of men, and mainly were opposed to slavery. The Germans of Chicago hanged Douglas in effigy for his share in the repeal of the Missouri Compro-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, III, 834.

mise. The sentiment of Chicago Germans, as reported through their most influential editor, was a matter in which Lincoln had a legitimate interest.

Lincoln did not soon forget his friends among the Forty-eighters. It was two years after the inauguration that he asked General Hecker, at a White House reception, what had become of "that tall Dutchman with the red hair and beard," referring to Dr. Ernst Schmidt, and adding that he had not been in for an office yet. Dr. Schmidt had rendered yeoman service in both campaigns.

5. *Lincoln's campaign speech for Fremont in 1856.*—On July 9, 1856, Lincoln wrote to Henry C. Whitney that he expected to be in Chicago on or about the fifteenth, and to remain in this general vicinity for about two weeks. Lincoln spoke about fifty times in the campaign for Fremont, visiting different parts of the state. His address at Galena, about August 1, is preserved in part. Apparently Chicago was not listed among his scheduled appointments.

On Tuesday, July 15, the *Democratic Press*, which had succeeded John Wentworth's *Democrat*, and was later to become the *Press and Tribune*, announced that Honorable Abram Lincoln, of Springfield, was expected in town that day or the next, and it was hoped that he would consent to address the people on the issues of the campaign. Lincoln's name headed the list of Republican presidential electors.

On Saturday, July 19, Honorable A. Lincoln, state elector, was announced to speak for "Freedom and Fremont" at Dearborn Park in the evening.

On Monday, July 21, the *Democratic Press* described the speech as calm, clear, and forcible, its positions sustained by references to the old indisputable facts of our political history. The argument was affirmed to be unanswerable, and the editor said that he has not heard so long a speech in the open air so attentively listened to throughout.

Honorable Thomas Dent, a former president of this Society, who is one of the most careful and accurate of my correspondents, has given me interesting details of this speech, which he heard delivered in Dearborn Park, where the Chicago Public Library now stands. Judge Dent writes me:

In the early part of the speech Mr. Lincoln referred to what he considered the rights of the people, and especially of those who labored, and the suggestions which he made were at times applauded quite heartily. It was somewhat late in the afternoon, and a number in the audience seemed to be men who had been at work during the day and were willing to enjoy a respite beside the lake, whose shoreline then came close to the sidewalk on Michigan Avenue. In the progress of his speech, but not until somewhat near its close, he referred to the party he was representing, the Anti-Nebraska, or Republican Party, and its standard-bearers, Fremont and Dayton. It is my recollection that the applause was not so demonstrative then as it had been previously. The auditors were evidently not of one mind as to supporting the candidates named.

6. *The Republican banquet of 1856.*—At the close of the campaign Mr. Lincoln attended a Republican banquet held in the Tremont House, on December 10, 1856. Lincoln's was the first of thirteen speeches. It was delivered in response to the toast "The Union—the North will maintain it, and the South will not depart therefrom." Little did Lincoln know how fraught with significance were his words that night. He came perilously near to promising for his party more than either he or the party could perform. But all contemporary accounts agree that it was a great address. He preserved his notes, and they are to be found in the standard editions of his works.

7. *Metropolitan Hall address of 1857.*—The morning papers of Saturday, February 27, 1857, gave notice of a "Ratification Meeting" to be held that night in Metropolitan Hall to be addressed by "Honorable Abram Lincoln

of Springfield, and others." The meeting was called by "the Republican Party of Chicago and Friends of City Reform."

The paper of Monday related that the hall was crowded; that "Honorable Abram Lincoln" spoke briefly; that Honorable John Wentworth "delivered a characteristic address," and that Frank Lombard sang capitally, "as he always does."

8. *The visit of May 22, 1857.*—The *Chicago Journal* of Friday, May 22, 1857, announced that "Honorable A. Lincoln, the successor of Stephen A. Douglas in the United States Senate, was in town yesterday." This is an interesting evidence of Lincoln's support in Chicago as early as the spring of 1857. Already he had been selected by Chicago Republicans as the opponent of Douglas for the campaign of 1858.

9. *The Rock Island Bridge Case, September, 1857.*—The two most notable cases which brought Mr. Lincoln to Chicago to plead before the United States District Court were the Rock Island Bridge Case in 1857, and the "Sand-Bar Case" in 1860. Records of other cases doubtless were destroyed in the Chicago fire; and while members of the Chicago bar remember that there were other cases—and there must have been—these are the only ones of which up to date I have discovered records.

On May 6, 1856, the "Effie Afton," a steamboat on the Mississippi River, ran against a pier of the Rock Island Railroad bridge. The boat took fire, which was communicated to the bridge. A portion of the bridge was burned, and the steamer was a total loss. The owners of the boat brought suit against the bridge company. The two cities of Chicago and St. Louis were deeply interested. When the cornerstone of the bridge pier was laid, September 1, 1854, the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis

voted that a bridge across the Mississippi was "unconstitutional, an obstruction to navigation, dangerous, and that it was the duty of every western state, river city, and town to take immediate action to prevent the erection of such a structure." When, therefore, the boat ran against the bridge, it was openly charged in Chicago that the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis had bribed the captain of the boat to run against the pier.

The case was tried in Chicago in September, 1857, and lasted fourteen days. H. M. Weed, of Peoria, T. D. Lincoln, of Cincinnati, and Coridon Beckwith were attorneys for the steamboat interests; and Norman B. Judd, of Chicago, Joseph Knox, of Rock Island, and Abraham Lincoln, of Springfield, represented the bridge company, The Chicago daily papers of September 25, 1857, give an account of the case. The jury failed to agree, which result was considered a victory for the bridge company.

The Hessler photographs of Lincoln were made on at least two different occasions, the first being in 1857 and the other in 1858. I judge that the earlier of these, the one with the tumbled hair, was made during the trial of the Rock Island Bridge Case, and the others, one of them of remarkable quality, were made perhaps during his attendance upon court in July, 1858, during which visit occurred his reply to Douglas, of which we are now to speak.

10. *Lincoln's reply to Douglas, Tremont House, July 10, 1858.*—Among the best-known and most notable visits of Lincoln to Chicago was that in July, 1858. So far as I am aware, it is the only one of his visits that is commemorated by a tablet erected in the place where he spoke. Lincoln was in Chicago attending court when Senator Douglas returned to Chicago, Friday, July 9, 1858. The Tremont House was beautifully decorated. Much powder was burned, and Douglas came home in triumph. That

night he spoke to a crowd, estimated all the way from 10,000 to 30,000, from the balcony of the Tremont House, and Lincoln sat on the platform. The next night Lincoln replied from the same balcony. The crowd which he addressed was large, but not so large as that of Douglas.

They had their labor troubles in that day. The *Journal* promised its readers to print the speeches of both Douglas and Lincoln in full. Its editor relied upon the *Times*, the Democratic morning paper, to lend the type of the Douglas address for use in the *Journal* in the evening. But the printers objected to any such labor-saving device, and the editor of the *Times* was unable to make good his promise to the editor of the *Journal*. So the *Journal* had to set the whole of the Douglas address from the *Times* newspaper, and print it after it had printed Lincoln's speech.

11. *Lincoln's challenge to Douglas, July 24, 1858.*—In that same month and from the same hotel, Lincoln issued his challenge to Douglas for a joint debate. This occurred July 24, 1858, and Douglas was in the same hotel. While the formalities of the challenge and acceptance were made through friends, and with all the formality which would have accompanied a challenge to a duel, Lincoln and Douglas met personally in the Tremont House on that day, as they met more than once in their travels that summer, besides their seven encounters in joint discussion.⁵ The reason that there was no joint debate in Chicago was that Douglas had already spoken here, and Lincoln had replied to him.

12. *The Sand-Bar Case, April, 1860.*—The last case in which Mr. Lincoln appeared in Chicago was that of *Johnson v. Jones*, commonly known as the "Sand-Bar Case" in the United States Circuit Court before Judge

⁵ Lincoln's letter acceding to Douglas' wish to open the debates may be seen in the collections of this Society.

Drummond. Lincoln was in the city as early as Monday, March 26, and remained until after the verdict, which is reported in the *Press and Tribune* for April 5, 1860. It was during this trial that Lincoln visited Evanston and Waukegan. It was also at this time that he sat to the sculptor Leonard W. Volk for his life-mask, which has given us imperishably the living lineaments of the face of Lincoln. Lincoln brought with him to Chicago his little pocket dictionary, and left it at a candy store on the corner of State and Adams streets. That dictionary is now in a safe place.⁶

The Sand-Bar Case began in the United States District Court in Chicago in October, 1853, and after Lincoln had become president it went on to the United States Supreme Court. It involved the title to certain lots north of the mouth of the river, and in its day excited almost as much interest as the Captain Streeter Case did later.

William Jones, defendant in the Sand-Bar Case, was the father of the well-known Fernando Jones. The latter has related to more than one member of this Society that during the progress of this trial he was leaving the courtroom in dejection at the close of a hard day on the witness stand, during which experience he had been roughly used by the prosecuting attorney, when Mr. Lincoln took him by the hand, saying jovially, "Don't be discouraged, Mr. Jones; there are those who are better lawyers than gentlemen."

During the Sand-Bar Case, all the counsel on both sides, and the presiding Judge Drummond, dined together one day at the home of Honorable Isaac N. Arnold. At the conclusion of the dinner, the toast was proposed: "May Illinois furnish the next president of the United States." The toast was drunk heartily, and accepted with enthusiasm by the friends of both Lincoln and Douglas.⁷

⁶ The author of this address has it.

⁷ Andreas, *History of Chicago*, II, 458.

One of Lincoln's Chicago cases was that of *Parker v. Hoyt*. It was tried in the United States Court, and Lincoln was of counsel for the defendant. The suit concerned the merits of a water-wheel, and an alleged infringement of a patent. This was the kind of case which Lincoln enjoyed. He understood the action of water-wheels, and he explained the mechanism very lucidly to the jury. Lincoln was very uneasy while the jury was out. The jurors were in another building, and after they had been out about two hours, Lincoln walked the street in sight of the windows of the building where the jury was kept. Honorable Grant Goodrich, who was Lincoln's associate, related that one of the jurors, manifestly favorable to the defense, saw Lincoln and Goodrich, and held up one finger. Lincoln became very much excited, fearing the finger meant that the jury stood eleven to one against him. The situation reminded Lincoln of a divorce case he had had in Tazewell County, in which the jury was divided in the same proportion against his client, the wife who was seeking the divorce. A verdict had been drawn up favorable to the husband, and eleven of the jury signed it. The twelfth man, however, said, "Gentlemen, I am going to lie down and sleep, and when you get ready to give a verdict for that little woman, then wake me; for before I give a verdict against her, I will lie here till I rot and the pismires carry me out through the keyhole."

Lincoln told Goodrich this story, hoping that the jurymen who had held up his finger would show like tenacity. Apparently he did so, for the verdict in the Water-Wheel Case was in favor of the defense, and Lincoln always regarded this as one of the gratifying triumphs of his professional life.⁸

⁸ Herndon, II, 330.

I tried to obtain from Mr. Horace A. Goodrich, son of Grant Goodrich, who furnished Herndon this incident, the date of this trial; but Mr. Goodrich states that all his father's papers were destroyed in the Chicago fire, and I have not been able to determine the date of this trial, which consumed several days.

An interesting evolution of the local political situation is disclosed by a document belonging to the Chicago Historical Society, being the records of an organization that began as the Cameron Club, in 1859. In 1860, as Lincoln emerged into prominence as a presidential possibility, this club, while not yielding its preference for the Pennsylvanian as president, made room for Lincoln in the second place, and became the Cameron and Lincoln Club. After the Chicago convention, it made its final change, and became the Lincoln and Hamlin Club. The record book was preserved by Fernando Jones, who held office in each of the organizations.

Fernando Jones was an early Chicago Republican of some literary ability, and aspired to write a biography of Lincoln, even before his nomination. This Society has an autographed letter of Lincoln to Jones, in reply to a request of the latter for a sketch to be used as a campaign biography. The date of the letter is interesting, as showing how early Mr. Jones thought of Lincoln as a possible candidate:

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., January 15, 1860

Fernando Jones, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 10th was received two or three days ago; and, being much engaged, I have postponed attending to it until now. Our Republican friend, J. W. Fell, of Bloomington, Illinois, can furnish you the material for a brief sketch of my history, if it be desired. I shall be happy to receive a letter from you at any time.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN

13. *The Lincoln-Hamlin reception, November, 1860.*—In the campaign of 1860, Lincoln made no speeches, even in Springfield. He remained at home, receiving individuals and delegations, but refraining from public addresses. When the campaign was over, he and Mrs. Lincoln visited Chicago, and Mrs. Lincoln did some shopping while he visited his friends. One of the friends visited was the Honorable Ebenezer Peck, whose hospitable mansion stood at the corner of Clark Street and Fullerton Avenue surrounded by extensive grounds. It is said that it was here that Lincoln decided upon the personnel of his Cabinet. The President-elect is reputed to have said that he could not go to Washington without Mr. Peck. At all events, it is certain that in 1863 Lincoln appointed him as Judge of the Court of Claims and conferred with him frequently.

On Friday, November 23, there was a reception to Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln and Honorable Hannibal Hamlin.⁹ It was at the Tremont House. The *Tribune* of November 24 says:

The visit of the President and Vice-President-elect to this city, their first interview since their nominations, has made Chicago the center of much interest during the past week. Yielding to the very general desire of our citizens to see the gallant standard-bearers of Republicanism, yesterday morning was fixed upon for a reception in the parlors of the Tremont House, between the hours of 10 and 12. The day was the most inclement of the season thus far, cold, snowing, and with general winter aspects abroad, yet the people were not at home. . . . For two hours and a half the crowd moved. Mr. Lincoln shook hands with each. At his right stood Mrs. Lincoln, and next Mr. Hamlin.

The only notable thing about the reception apparently, as noted in the reports in the Chicago papers, was that

⁹ The account which follows held a peculiar interest for one of the members of this Society present, namely, the late Frank Hamlin, a son of Hannibal Hamlin, for many years an honored resident of Chicago.

when Mr. Lincoln shook hands with a very tall man, one almost his own height, he would "raise his hands in well-affected astonishment" and exclaim, "You are up *some!*"

Holland's *Life of Lincoln* (p. 246) gives two pleasing incidents of this reception. One is his tossing a little boy well toward the ceiling, and the other is his stopping the procession while he wrote autographs for a group of eight little girls.

On Saturday, the day following this reception, Mr. Hamlin started east, and Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln are supposed to have returned to Springfield. So far as I have learned, this was his last visit to Chicago, until the return of his body, after his assassination.

The *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, by his son, William R. Moody, relates that Lincoln, on his way to his inaugural, spent a Sunday in Chicago and spoke at Moody's Sunday school in North Market Hall, where the Criminal Court building now stands. This is doubtless as Mr. Moody himself remembered it, but Lincoln did not pass through Chicago, much less spend a Sunday there, on his way to his inaugural.

Bishop Cheney related that on Sunday, December 25, 1860, he ministered in St. James Church, Chicago, and that Lincoln was in the congregation. But Lincoln was in Springfield and not in Chicago on that Christmas Sunday.

But both men were correct in the main, though both were wrong as to the date. On November 27, 1860, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that on the preceding day, both Lincoln and Hamlin attended divine service at St. James Church on Cass Street, in company with Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, who regularly attended there. The same paper reports that in the afternoon, Mr. Lincoln, accompanied by Mr. Hamlin, "visited the North Market Mission, where, after the usual services, the President-elect delivered a

short address, which was received with much pleasure by the destitute children attending the Sabbath school."

The discovery of this date was hindered by the fact that the Chicago papers of Friday, November 25, announced that Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln left the city that night for Springfield. The Springfield papers, on Tuesday following, however, announced the return of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln "in excellent health and refreshed by their visit." No record was found of their having stopped over Sunday on the way; so another search of the Chicago papers showed that only officially did their visit to Chicago end on Friday. They spent Saturday and Sunday quietly in the city, and attended church with the Arnolds and visited Moody's Sunday school.¹⁰

I have gone through the files of the Chicago newspapers as carefully as my time has permitted, and I think I have found all of Lincoln's more important visits to Chicago, but a more careful search would probably reveal some additional visits. Our Chicago editors do not know as well as they ought to know those visits that immediately concern their own publications. For instance, the *Staatz-Zeitung* ought to be able to tell on what date in 1854 Lincoln lunched with Colonel Schneider of that paper to talk over the attitude of the German vote toward the new party; and the *Tribune* ought to be able to tell on what date in the same year

¹⁰ Bishop Charles E. Cheney was a careful writer. That he could have been mistaken in such a matter must serve as a reminder of the extreme care which the historian must exercise in accepting the testimony of even the most truthful men. Bishop Cheney in his address in Memorial Hall, Chicago, on Lincoln's Birthday, 1914, said:

The only time I was ever permitted to see Abraham Lincoln was where he appeared a devoted worshiper in a Chicago church. On the morning of December 25, 1860, I conducted services and preached in St. James Church on the north side. As, during the singing of a hymn, I glanced over the congregation, my attention was attracted by a tall, ungainly figure, which towered head and shoulders above all others round about him, and in an instant I recognized, from pictures that were everywhere during that campaign, the rugged, sad face of the man who just nineteen days before had been elected President of the United States. Although not an Episcopalian, he reverently conformed to the attitudes that the service demanded.

he sat for his photograph reading a copy of the *Press and Tribune*, and the *Journal* ought to know some incidents connected with Lincoln's relations to that paper.

There are individuals, also, who ought to be able to give personal recollections of value. But personal memory is treacherous. Within a few weeks a lady has informed me that as a little girl she stood with her father across from the Wigwam, and her father pointed out Abraham Lincoln emerging on the day of his nomination; and a man has told me of seeing Lincoln in Chicago in 1864; and several people have told me of seeing Lincoln in Chicago "on his way to his inauguration." Lincoln was not in Chicago at the time of his nomination; and he did not pass through Chicago on his way to his inauguration; and he was not in Chicago in 1864. These people who remember to have seen him here on those occasions are not liars; but honest people remember a great many things that never occurred. Both Leonard Swett and Addison Ballard resembled Lincoln and were sometimes mistaken for him.

Presumably, Lincoln's casual visits are not all mentioned in the Chicago papers. To be sure, the papers of that day were hard up for enough local news to fill a column, and editors visited the hotels to discover who were there whose names would make a readable paragraph. The outside of the old blanket-sheet papers were solid advertisements, and were probably printed up a week or more at a time with only the change in the date line. Indeed, Long John Wentworth used to print up the outside of his *Democrat* by wholesale, and refer the reader to the inside pages for the date. There was no use lifting the form every day, nor wasting any outside sheets over and above the edition. After Lincoln was elected to Congress, as a Whig, he became an important figure in Chicago. The *Journal*, the *Press and Tribune*, the *Democrat*, and the *Staats-Zeitung* were

all Whig papers of small circulation and no excess of news. They kept a few galleys of magazine material for fillers, and with this, the news, and editorials they managed to fill about six columns a day in one fashion or another. But usually the arrival of the Honorable Abraham Lincoln to attend court was good for a few lines in one or more of the Whig papers. Doubtless there are some such mentions which I have overlooked, and some of the files are incomplete.

But there were also unrecorded visits. Probably Lincoln visited Chicago on his way to or from Milwaukee, where he spoke at the State Fair, September 30, 1859. I have heard of a number of visits which as yet are not sufficiently fixed as to time and circumstance to find a place in this article. I am making no pretense of a complete list of Lincoln's visits to Chicago, but am making a contribution toward such a list.

At one time it did not seem impossible that Lincoln should have been a resident of Chicago. When he returned from his one term in Congress, and failed to secure appointment as General Land Commissioner of the United States, he seriously considered removing from Springfield to Chicago, where he had opportunity to form a partnership with Honorable Grant Goodrich.¹¹ Mr. Lincoln was not oblivious to the advantages which such an association and residence might have conferred; but he thought himself predisposed to consumption, and believed that the outdoor life of the circuit was better for him than the confinement of an office; moreover, he enjoyed the free companionship of the down-state work, so he continued to reside in Springfield.

¹¹ Mr. Horace A. Goodrich, son of Grant Goodrich, and Mr. Edward J. Whitehead, who was a student in Judge Goodrich's office, have told me interesting details of Lincoln's association with Honorable Grant Goodrich, who was a noted member of the Chicago bar, and a leader in philanthropic and religious work.

Mrs. Lincoln with her two remaining sons, Robert T. and Tad, removed to Chicago after the President's death and occupied a house which stands today on west Washington Street.

14. *The funeral journey through Chicago, May 1 and 2, 1865.*—Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on Friday night, April 14, 1865, and died on the following morning. His funeral was held from the White House at noon on Wednesday, April 19. The body was borne back to Illinois by way of Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, and Chicago. The funeral train left Indianapolis at midnight on Sunday night, April 30, reached Chicago at eleven o'clock on Monday, May 1, and remained here until 8 o'clock Tuesday evening, May 2. The remains lay in state in the old courthouse and were viewed by multitudes of his old friends. The burial service was at Oak Ridge, in Springfield, on Thursday, May 4. Minute guns were fired, and church bells tolled, as the body of Lincoln was borne from the train to the courthouse in Chicago. A solemn arch, fifty-one feet in span, forty feet high, and sixteen feet in depth, had been erected for the catafalque to pass under. The motto was displayed, "Illinois clasps to her bosom her slain but glorified son." Strong men wept, and the memory of that event still brings a throb to the hearts of those who remember the day when Chicago said its last farewell to all that was mortal of Abraham Lincoln.

CHICAGO'S INFLUENCE NOT LIMITED TO LINCOLN'S VISITS

But the influence of Chicago upon the career of Lincoln is not to be measured by the number of his visits to this city. Even if he had never personally come to Chicago, the influence of this growing town upon his fame and character must have been marked. Perhaps we shall not be

able to trace all the forms in which this city affected him, but some of them are easily discernible.

1. *That such a city existed was of importance to Lincoln.*—Let us consider how much it meant to Lincoln that there was such a city as Chicago.

The first settlers came to Illinois loving its forests and despising its prairies. They came with high appreciation of its rivers and with little thought of the value of railway transportation. They came believing in its farms, but with no vision of its cities. Lincoln came to realize the inadequacy of this view.

He was deeply interested in river transportation. His own early outlet into the world was the Ohio and the Mississippi. He was the proud pilot of the "Talisman," when she essayed to navigate the Sangamon. His one patented invention was an appliance for the lifting of vessels over shoals.

But the rise of Chicago began to affect the future of Lincoln the moment he crossed the state line from Indiana into Illinois. He became a factor in Illinois life just at the time when the question of transportation was becoming most acute. Whatever surplus Illinois produced in the early days was floated down the Mississippi, whose final outlet was New Orleans, but there were other agricultural states tributary to the Mississippi, and the wharves of New Orleans piled high in time with unmarketable produce. It was less easy to float goods upstream than down, and New Orleans was not a manufacturing city. The goods which Illinois required for her own use were largely produced in Philadelphia or New York. The accounts and bills payable of Illinois merchants tended to accumulate in New York; the credits were in New Orleans. The money in circulation was largely issued by wild-cat banks and afforded no suitable basis of exchange. If this

situation went on permanently, Illinois could have no great commercial future. Her banking was principally done in St. Louis.

In 1831, for the first time, goods were imported from the East to St. Louis by way of Chicago at one-third less cost than by New Orleans. That fact did more than we can now imagine to compel the unification of Illinois. Lake Michigan became a necessity to Menard and Sangamon counties, as certainly as to Cook County and the northern end of the state. We remember the disastrous experiments in public improvements by means of which creeks were to become rivers and canals were to connect the heads of navigation through the state. Let us not forget that these conditions, with all their blundering and bankruptcy, were potent in making Illinois a commercial unit and in securing her place of influence in the commercial life of the nation.

By thy rivers, gently flowing, Illinois,
Very soon were railways growing, Illinois.

Abraham Lincoln became attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad which established a relation with Chicago. Nor was this his only important railway interest.

Reference has already been made to the Rock Island Bridge Case, which deserves further description. In May, 1856, the "Effie Afton," a Mississippi River steamboat, struck a pier of the Rock Island Railway bridge at Rock Island and sank, the bridge also being damaged. Then came to its test the issue between river and rail. Chicago's interest was in the railroad. Chicago was insisting that the produce of the great northwest should not be deflected by the river. She wanted it to pass through her own port by way of the lakes to the East. But the interest of St. Louis was in the river.

The commercial rivalry of Chicago and St. Louis has been for the most part good natured, but it was at that juncture a serious matter. St. Louis needed the river and Chicago needed the bridge. A bridge is not only an inconvenience to river transportation, it is a peril. An old Mississippi River captain told me that when he had bad dreams, his one nightmare was the bridge at Hannibal, Missouri. It not only narrowed the channel, but made dangerous and shifting currents. There was abundant testimony to this effect, I make no doubt, in the Rock Island Bridge Case. But Lincoln with all his predilection for the river was on the side of the railway. One man had as good a natural right to cross a river, he maintained, as another had to sail up or down on it.

To that simple statement of the case, Lincoln seems to have brought his plea in the case, which was tried in Chicago in 1857. He was pleading, whether he knew it or not, for the future of Chicago. If Chicago had as good a right to cross the Mississippi as St. Louis had to navigate it, then Chicago would divide the commerce of the great West with St. Louis on a basis highly favorable to Chicago. In that case, tried in the United States Court in the city by the lake, Lincoln was for Chicago.

2. *That Chicago was located in Illinois.*—It meant much for Lincoln that Chicago was in Illinois and not in Wisconsin. As originally planned, the northern boundary of Illinois was to have been a line projected westward from the southern end of Lake Michigan. Had that boundary been maintained, and the metropolis of the Great Lakes been established in Wisconsin, the future of Illinois and of Abraham Lincoln would have been considerably modified.

The relation of Illinois to the unification of the nation was no accident. Governor Thomas Ford died in 1850,

leaving the manuscript of his *History of Illinois* to be published after his decease. In that work he clearly set forth the aim of Honorable Nathaniel Pope, delegate in Congress from the Territory of Illinois, when, in January, 1818, he, on his own responsibility, amended the proposal for the admission of Illinois to the Union by moving her boundary north from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the line of $42^{\circ}30'$ so as to include within the state fourteen additional counties and the port of Chicago. Governor Ford said:

It was known in all confederated republics there was danger of dissolution. . . . Illinois had a coast of 150 miles on the Ohio River, and nearly as much on the Wabash; the Mississippi was its western boundary for the whole length of the State; the commerce of all the western country was to pass by its shores, and would necessarily come to a focus at the mouth of the Ohio, at a point within this State, and within the control of Illinois, if, the Union being dissolved, she should see proper to control it. It was foreseen that none of the great States in the West could venture to aid in dissolving the Union, without cultivating a State situated in such a central and commanding position. What then was the duty of the national government? Illinois was certain to be a great State with any boundaries which that government could give. . . . If left entirely upon the waters of these great rivers, it was plain that, in case of threatened disruption, the interest of the new State would be to join a western and southern confederacy. But if a large portion of it could be made dependent upon the commerce and navigation of the great northern lakes, connected as they are with the eastern States, a rival interest would be created, to check the wish for a western and southern confederacy. It therefore became the duty of the national government, not only to make Illinois strong, but to raise an interest including and binding her to the eastern and northern portions of the Union. This could be done only through an interest in the Lakes. At that time the commerce on the Lakes was small, but its increase was confidently expected, and indeed it has exceeded all expectations and is still in its infancy. To accomplish this object effectually, it was not only necessary to give to Illinois the port of Chicago, and a route

for the canal, but a considerable coast on Lake Michigan, with a country back of it sufficiently extensive to contain a population capable of exercising a decided influence upon the councils of the State.¹²

If Governor Ford had written these words after the Civil War, we might have suspected him of attributing to Judge Pope more of political foresight than he really possessed. But he wrote before 1850, and we have no reason to doubt that this remarkably clear view of the influence of Illinois as a state that might bind together the expanding Union was really possessed by Judge Pope when he secured for the new state her fourteen additional counties, including the port of Chicago.

3. *Illinois was Democratic; Chicago was Whig.*—The career of Lincoln was influenced and notably changed from what it otherwise might have been by the political character of Chicago as contrasted with that of the section of the state in which he lived, for Chicago and the region to the west of it filled up with a population much more complex in character and in political ideals than that which settled in southern and central Illinois.

We know the political character of Illinois at the time when Lincoln became a resident of the state. It was Democratic, and its Democracy was divided between the "whole-hog" Democrats and those whose devotion to Andrew Jackson carried them to less violent extremes. Lincoln's personal backgrounds were those of Jacksonian Democracy. Thomas Lincoln was a Jackson Democrat; John Hanks, as late as 1860, was "an old Democrat who will vote for Lincoln." Persons who heard what is believed to have been Lincoln's first stump speech at Decatur in the summer of 1830, say that he was then for Jackson and internal improvements. I have not found the personal

¹² Ford, *History of Illinois*, pp. 22-23.

recollections of those who profess to have heard this speech very clear or consistent, but they may be correct. Andrew Jackson was a name to capture the imagination, and he may at that time have been Lincoln's hero. Lamon holds that Lincoln at the outset was "a nominal Jackson man." He says on the authority of Dennis Hanks that Lincoln was "Whiggish but not a Whig."¹³

From the time of his first candidacy, however, there is nothing that identifies him with Jackson Democracy. His earlier announcements of himself as a candidate for the legislature did not name the party with which he was affiliated, and he was warmly supported by local Democrats as well as Whigs. But as soon as he began to express any principles which could be aligned with national issues, they were unqualifiedly those of the Whigs. He may have continued to admire Andrew Jackson, but he became a disciple of Henry Clay.¹⁴

In this development his personal evolution was like that of the state. But Lincoln's own development was in advance of that of the state as a whole, and qualified him to lead in a movement that in time committed Illinois to a policy against the extension of slavery.

Pennsylvania is proud of her sobriquet, "The Keystone State." Had that name not been pre-empted when the Union formed a smaller arch, it should have been reserved for Illinois. Both the shape and geographical position of Illinois entitle her to that designation. Her superficial area extends from the lakes to the confluence of the great rivers and hence virtually from the northern boundary of the nation to Mason and Dixon's Line. In the beginning Illinois shared with Kentucky and Missouri the status of a

¹³ Lamon, *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 123, 126.

¹⁴ See Nicolay and Hay, *Life of Lincoln*, I, 102, 103; Morse, I, 38.

southern state, but Lincoln saw and had some reason to fear the development of its northern and larger portion.

It was an ominous sign for Lincoln when he, who had done so much for the election of Zachary Taylor as president, was set aside in his application for the Land Office and that position was given to Mr. Justin Butterfield, of Chicago. Lincoln had good reason to fear the growth of Chicago in its threatened control of Illinois. As late as the state convention of the Republican Party at Decatur in 1860, the northern part of Illinois was for Seward. Not even the sight of John Hanks's two fence rails wholly convinced the politicians of the Chicago area that Lincoln was the right man for president. His solidifying of his own state was an important step toward the solidifying of the nation.

Fortunately, Lincoln was indebted to Chicago for defeating him in his effort to secure from President Zachary Taylor an appointment at Washington as United States Land Commissioner. By this defeat he was sent back to Illinois and ultimately to the White House.

Abraham Lincoln returned to Illinois in 1849 after his single term as a member of the lower house of Congress a sad and disappointed man. His career in Congress had been as inconspicuous as it had been brief, and in so far as it had possessed elements of conspicuity, he had not thereby increased to any large degree his popularity or his hope for future political preferment. He had opposed the Mexican War, though he voted for such measures as he deemed necessary to its successful termination; he had favored the Wilmot Proviso, and introduced his Spot Resolutions which won him no favor with the administration in power. This was what he expected. What he probably did not expect was that this course would bring upon him the displeasure of his own constituents and not only result

in no demand for his return to Congress, but help to lose the election to his old friend and partner, Judge Logan. If he comforted himself with the reflection that he had won favor with the new administration by his speeches in New England in favor of General Taylor, from whom he might now expect an appointment to the supervision of the General Land Office, that reflection also was doomed to disappointment. General Taylor appointed Justin Butterfield,¹⁵ of Chicago, to the post which Lincoln coveted, and Lincoln, declining the governorship of the Territory of Oregon, which President Fillmore offered to him, returned to Illinois and to the practice of law.

Mr. Butterfield probably owed his appointment over Mr. Lincoln to the influence of Daniel Webster, who was his personal friend, but he owed much also to the growing political importance of the northern portion of the state of Illinois. Taylor was, according to his own election statement, "a Whig, but not an ultra-Whig." The Whig interests in Illinois could better afford to overlook the claims of a down-state ex-congressman than those of a strongly backed representative from the Whig end of the state.

4. *Lincoln's defeat in 1855.*—Chicago can claim somewhat more than one-fifth of the credit of having defeated Lincoln for the Senate on February 8, 1855, when the two houses of the legislature, convened in joint session, one hundred strong, gave him forty-five votes upon the first

¹⁵ Justin Butterfield was born in Keen, New Hampshire, in 1790. He studied at Williams College and was admitted to the bar in Watertown, New York, in 1812. After some years of practice in New York state, he removed to New Orleans and in 1835 to Chicago. He soon attained high rank in his profession. In 1841 he was appointed, by President Harrison, United States District Attorney. In 1849 he was appointed, by President Taylor, Commissioner of the General Land Office. He was logical and resourceful and many stories are told of his quick wit. He died October 23, 1855.

ballot for the United States Senate. Shields, the Democratic senator then a candidate for re-election, had only forty-one.

There were five Democratic state senators, then in process of voting the Democratic ticket, and still calling themselves Democrats. They were Anti-Nebraska men, destined in due time to become Republicans, but at the time they were wholly unwilling to vote for so pronounced a Whig as Lincoln. Holding the balance of power, they compelled the vote hostile to Shields either to come over to them, or to witness the election of Governor Matteson, who came in as a dark Democratic horse. To save this apparent calamity, Lincoln, at the end of the tenth ballot, withdrew, and his support went with the five bolting Democrats to secure the election of Lyman Trumbull. The five men, whose opposition to Lincoln thus sent Trumbull to the Senate, were Norman B. Judd, of Chicago, Burton C. Cook, of Ottawa, John M. Palmer, of Carlinville, and Henry L. Baker and G. T. Allen, of Madison County. Of these the first three were all strong men and recognized leaders, and it cannot be said that the Chicago member of the group controlled their action; nevertheless, the influence of Norman B. Judd was potent, and through him that portion of Chicago Democracy which was antislavery in sentiment expressed its opposition to the Whiggery of Lincoln and kept him away from Washington. Had Lincoln gone to the United States Senate in 1855, he could hardly have become president.

Norman B. Judd became one of the foremost of Republicans, and had no small share in securing the nomination of Lincoln as president in 1860; but if he and his fellow-Democrats, who repudiated General Shields in 1854, had voted for Lincoln for the Senate on February 8, 1855, Lincoln would never have been president.

5. *Chicago's share in the Douglas debates.*—Abraham Lincoln was indebted to Chicago in the matter of the Lincoln and Douglas debates. Douglas was at the time of this discussion a resident of Chicago and that fact and the attitude of Chicago toward him had no little to do with the return of Lincoln to political life after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Lincoln's retirement in 1849 was not wholly voluntary. He retired because he could see before him no hopeful political future. He retired a sadly disappointed man and thought himself wholly out of politics. The Compromise of 1850 seemed to him to bury still deeper all his own political hopes. Arranged by Clay and Webster, it seemed to possess the elements of finality. Lincoln was not satisfied with it; the Fugitive Slave Law which it contained shocked his moral sense; but that law had been necessary to the acceptance of the Compromise and there seemed no remedy for it. Lincoln retired from public life, as it then seemed permanently.

Lincoln felt the depressing features of the situation. His partner, William H. Herndon, tells us of Lincoln's mournful comment as they drove to Petersburg one day in 1850:

How hard, oh! how hard it is to die and leave one's country no better than if one had never lived in it. The world is dead to hope, deaf to its own death struggle, made known by a universal cry. What is to be done? Is anything to be done? Who can do anything? And how is it to be done? Did you ever think of these things?

In both the autobiographical sketches which he prepared, Mr. Lincoln plainly stated that in this period he practiced law more assiduously than ever before, and was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise recalled him to political life.

It is my strong belief that Lincoln returned to political life under a profound conviction that the nation was facing a moral issue; it was the importance of that moral issue that had determining weight with him. At the same time, it is to be remembered that Abraham Lincoln was a popular politician and that he saw in the new turn of events a possible opportunity to become United States Senator in 1854.

He was not expecting then to be the opponent of Stephen A. Douglas. The term of Douglas was not to expire until 1858. The seat which Lincoln coveted and thought he might possibly secure was that of his old-time opponent, General James Shields. He wrote to his friends in this wise: "It has come around that a Whig may by possibility be elected to the United States Senate, and I want the chance of being that man."¹⁶

As we have already seen, Lincoln did not secure the nomination. Lyman Trumbull was elected to the Senate under circumstances which caused many of the friends of Lincoln to charge that there had been foul play, but there is good reason to believe that Lincoln did not share that opinion. Douglas repeatedly charged that Trumbull had defrauded Lincoln, and he was able to quote some of Lincoln's friends in support of his statement, but Lincoln then denied, as he had denied at the time of the election, any belief on his own part that Trumbull had dealt treacherously with him.

To us who view the matter in perspective, it appears certain that Lincoln, though deeply disappointed by the result, had good reason in later years to rejoice that Trumbull was elected, for his election was the event which, four years later, brought Lincoln and Douglas face to face in the political arena.

¹⁶ Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, I, 209.

Lincoln would have had an easier battle in 1854. The Democrats were then quarreling among themselves. Douglas had alienated a large contingent of his supporters in Illinois, so that when he returned to Chicago after taking his part in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he was treated with disrespect, and his address on September 3, 1854, was delivered against great difficulties and in the face of many interruptions. Lincoln counted this an advantage to himself in 1854, and in 1858 he had the advantage that Douglas had quarreled with the President, and that Buchanan was doing his best to defeat Douglas in his own state. That quarrel with Buchanan, over the Lecompton Constitution of Kansas, was wholly to the credit of Douglas, and it was very largely due to him that that iniquity was not consummated; but Douglas' disfavor with the administration was an element in favor of Lincoln, and Lincoln made the most of it. It may have been the fact that, when Douglas returned from Washington to Chicago and gave his address on September 3, 1854, some church bells tolled as if for a funeral, and flags on the vessels in the harbor were hung at half mast, that decided Lincoln to re-enter political life.

Whatever point within the bounds of Illinois, Douglas, who spent most of his time in Washington, had chosen as his home, he and Lincoln must have crossed swords as soon as Lincoln became a candidate for United States senator. Douglas was not a candidate for re-election in 1854, but the tolling of Chicago's bells on his return to Chicago in that year was sweet music in the attentive ears of Abraham Lincoln.

An important change in the political status of Douglas had occurred by 1858. The quarrel with Buchanan on the Lecompton Constitution had given him new standing among the opponents of slavery. The attitude of Douglas in this matter was so apparently, and I think genuinely, meritori-

ous, that Horace Greeley did not favor any nomination for the Senate by the Republicans of Illinois in 1858, believing that the administration of Buchanan would be more thoroughly rebuked by the re-election of Douglas than by his defeat at the hands of a Republican.

Moreover, it was not entirely clear, in that period of flux, that Douglas himself, disowned by the administration, would not avow himself a Republican. The Republican Party as composed at its outset contained many former Democrats, of whom the new senator from Illinois, Lyman Trumbull, was one.

The Republican Party in Illinois was organized at Bloomington in 1856. Abraham Lincoln was present and on May 29 made his famous "Lost Speech." There is some reason to think that Lincoln was not unwilling that it should be lost. It is quite possible that in the fervor of that hour he gave utterance to more radical convictions on the slavery question than it would have been wise to print. But Lincoln was surely coming to the time when he must face Douglas on higher ground than that which Douglas himself had chosen, the ground of popular sovereignty.

Lincoln had not been hasty in his occupation of advance ground on the slavery question. He had been a Whig and a conservative among the Whigs. When he went to New England in 1848 to speak on behalf of General Taylor, practically his whole argument was that a vote on the Free Soil Party was a half-vote for the Democrats; that as bad as the Whigs might be thought to be, the Democrats were worse. When in 1854 he came back into politics, it was with the conviction that was soon to carry him beyond any position that had been acceptable to the Whigs, and to make it inevitable that he, who up to that time had been a strong opponent of all new parties that might weaken the strength of the Whigs, would leave the Whig Party forever and avow

himself, as Lincoln did at Bloomington, an adherent to the new organization, known as the Republican Party.

The Republican convention in 1858 was held in Springfield. A straw vote of delegates and passengers on a train approaching Springfield undertook to determine the choice of that group for president two years later. Seward received 139 votes; Fremont, 32; John McLean, 13; Lyman Trumbull, 7; Salmon P. Chase, 8. There were twenty-eight scattering votes, and, so far as it is known, Lincoln did not receive any of them. Apparently in Illinois he was not thought of seriously as a presidential possibility at that time. But he was the united choice of that body for senator. According to Douglas, this had all been prearranged and it was a necessary consequence of the perfidy of Trumbull four years before. This apparently was not true; but it was true that, ever since the election of Trumbull, an increasing number of Republicans had believed that Lincoln was the inevitable candidate for senator in 1858.

Lincoln accepted his nomination in his famous speech that began with the figure of the "house divided against itself." Two models had helped to give shape to this paragraph. One was Daniel Webster's reply to Hayne, and the other was the Sermon on the Mount.

When Lincoln, in his speech of acceptance of the candidacy for the senatorship, expressed his conviction that this government could not permanently endure half free and half slave, he was not acting hastily. For years he had been approaching that conclusion. He knew just what answer Douglas would make. Douglas would say, and did say, that this government was founded with full knowledge on the part of its founders that it was half free and half slave, that it always had been so, and that there was no legal or constitutional method provided by which it could become otherwise. He knew that Douglas would say that the logic

of Lincoln's position was civil war. He knew that Douglas would say that Lincoln's position implied the right of one state, or group of states, to impose its will upon another state, or group of states; a thing which the founders of the Republic would utterly have disavowed. He knew that Douglas would say that if the founders of the Republic had shared Lincoln's view, that the government must be either all slave or all free territory, then it would have been all slave.

Probably Lincoln never had prepared a speech to which he gave so much earnest thought. That opening paragraph he had carefully committed to memory. He was able to recite it word for word in the several debates, saying as he did so, that Judge Douglas had read it over to him so often that he had been compelled to learn it. Upon that platform Lincoln knew that he must either stand or fall.

In the opening of the campaign, Lincoln sought opportunities of listening to Douglas and of following him with an answer. Douglas came to Chicago on Friday, July 9, 1858, and delivered a notable address from the balcony of Tremont House. Lincoln was present and occupied a seat upon the platform. On the following night, which was Saturday, Lincoln replied to Douglas from the same platform. On the following Friday, Douglas spoke in Bloomington. Lincoln again was present and at the close of Douglas' address Lincoln was called for. He appeared but declined to speak, saying that the meeting belonged to Judge Douglas and it would be improper for him to address it. From Bloomington Douglas went to Springfield, and spoke at a great gathering on the afternoon of Monday, the eighteenth. Lincoln was not present, but on that evening he gave an address in the State House in which he replied to Douglas.

The Democratic papers began making complaint that Lincoln, unable to secure audiences for himself, was following up Douglas and speaking to the audiences which the

popularity of Douglas drew. On the twenty-seventh, Douglas spoke at Clinton. Again Lincoln was present and on that evening delivered a reply in the courthouse.

This method of following Douglas and replying to him after Douglas left the city, gave to Lincoln an advantage in having the last word, but it exposed Lincoln to criticism, and it lacked the order and enthusiasm of the joint debate.

How long Lincoln had been considering the possibility of a challenge to Douglas, we do not know. Apparently he had some thought and even hope that Douglas, annoyed by his presence, would issue a challenge to him. Douglas did not do so and Lincoln himself became the challenger.

On July 24, Mr. Lincoln being in Chicago and at the Tremont House, which hotel was the local home of Douglas, wrote a letter which he sent by the hands of Norman B. Judd, at that time chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, inviting Douglas to a series of joint debates. He did not specify or limit the number. Douglas replied on the same date, accepting the challenge and expressing surprise that as he and Lincoln had been in Chicago together, immediately after the return of Douglas to Illinois, and again at Bloomington, Atlanta, Lincoln, and Springfield, Lincoln should not have challenged him earlier and before Douglas' own appointments had been made. He accepted with the stipulation that there should be seven joint debates, one in each of the nine congressional districts of the state, those two being excepted in which Douglas had already spoken and Lincoln had made immediate and formal reply, namely, in Chicago and Springfield.

The list of dates and places, as arranged a few days later was: (1) Ottawa, La Salle County, Saturday, August 21, 1858; (2) Freeport, Stephenson County, Friday, August 27, 1858; (3) Jonesboro, Union County, September 15, 1858; (4) Charleston, Coles County, Satur-

day, September 18, 1858; (5) Galesburg, Knox County, Wednesday, October 7, 1858; (6) Quincy, Adams County, Tuesday, October 13, 1858; (7) Alton, Madison County, Thursday, October 15, 1858.

Douglas claimed, and with much apparent reason, that Lincoln's only possible hope of election to the Senate lay in the bitter hostility toward Douglas of the Buchanan administration, a hostility earned by Douglas in his support of an issue wherein he ought to be able to command the loyal support of the men who were likely to vote for Lincoln. He set forth this claim with much cogency in his address in Chicago, Lincoln at the time sitting on the platform with him; but Douglas did not convince Chicago that this was the whole truth of the matter.

Douglas denounced the Republican Party as sectional and guilty of unholy alliance with the worst elements of the Democratic Party—the elements that were represented by President Buchanan and the extreme proslavery men. He did not, however, claim that his opposition to the Lecompton Constitution had been based on the ground of slavery, but said:

It is proper that I should remark here, that my opposition to the Lecompton Constitution did not rest upon the peculiar position taken by Kansas on the subject of slavery. I held then, and hold now, that if the people of Kansas want a slave state, it is their right to make one, and be received into the Union under it; if on the contrary, they want a free state, it is their right to have it, and no man should ever oppose their admission because they are the one or the other. I hold to that great principle of self-government which asserts the right of every people to decide for themselves the nature and character of the domestic institutions and fundamental law under which they are to live.

Douglas had said this, in one form or another, ever since his fight against the Lecompton Constitution. When that matter was under discussion in the Senate, he said:

If Kansas wants a slave-state Constitution she has a right to it; if she wants a free-state Constitution she has a right to it. It is none of my business which way the slavery clause is decided. I care not whether slavery is voted up or down.

Lincoln did not permit Douglas to forget that statement.

What Douglas meant, of course, was not that he had no personal preference in the matter, but that his willingness to admit a state into the Union would not depend upon whether it was a slave state or a free state if it had the requisite qualification as to population, namely, a sufficient population to entitle it to one member of Congress. But his assertion was unqualified; he cared not whether slavery was voted up or down.

Lincoln reminded Douglas of this at Galesburg, and there set forth in the most uncompromising terms his own conviction that slavery was a moral wrong, in part as follows:

Judge Douglas declares that if any community wants slavery, they have a right to it. He can say that logically if he says there is no wrong in slavery; but if you admit that there is a wrong in it, he cannot logically say that anybody has a right to do wrong. . . .

Now, I confess myself as belonging to that class in the country who contemplate slavery as a moral, social and political evil, having due regard for its actual existence among us and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations which have been thrown about it; but, nevertheless, desire a policy that looks to the prevention of it as a wrong, and looks hopefully to the time when as a wrong it may come to an end. . . . He is blowing out the moral lights around us when he contends that whoever wants slaves has a right to hold them.

There Lincoln stood on a rock from which his feet could not be moved. The slavery question was not merely a question for local option or squatter sovereignty; it was a moral question. No man had a moral right to own another man.

In these passionate words, Lincoln set forth this conviction in his final address at Alton:

He [Douglas] says he don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down. I do not care myself, in dealing with that expression, whether it is intended to be expressive of his individual sentiments on the subject, or only of the national policy he desires to have established. It is alike valuable for my purpose. Any man can say that who does not see anything wrong in slavery; but no man can logically say he don't care whether a wrong is voted up or voted down. He may say that he don't care whether an indifferent thing is voted up or down, but he must logically have a choice between a right thing and a wrong thing. . . . That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles, right and wrong.

The publication of these addresses and their circulation throughout the nation produced several results. It effectually removed Stephen A. Douglas from the possibility of becoming a candidate of the Republican Party for any office and it did not increase his popularity with the proslavery wing of the Democratic Party. It resulted in his re-election to the Senate, but it did not restore him to favor with the administration. In promoting his immediate success it contributed to his ultimate downfall. On the other hand, the position taken by Abraham Lincoln was so temperate as to save him from the charge of being an extreme abolitionist, while it clearly defined his opposition to the extension of slavery on moral grounds. The Supreme Court through the Dred Scott Decision, and Douglas through the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, had gone far toward making slavery national; Lincoln, while denying his intention of interfering immediately with it where it was, denounced it as immoral, and declared his conviction that the nation must decide whether it would be wholly under the power of the forces that wrought for slavery, or whether it should be wholly free.

The house could not continue divided against itself and stand. On this platform Lincoln suffered immediate defeat and ultimate victory. He lived to see and to make the nation wholly free.

6. *Lincoln and the Chicago press.*—Prominent among the influences which Chicago exerted upon the career of Lincoln was her newspapers. Lincoln valued publicity. The *Illinois State Journal*, earlier known as the *Sangamo Journal*, was edited by Lincoln's friend, Simeon Francis, and Lincoln was a frequent contributor to its editorial columns. But Lincoln could hardly have become widely known outside of Illinois if it had not been for the Chicago newspapers. The *Tribune* (then known as the *Press and Tribune*), the *Journal*, the *Democrat*, and the *Staats-Zeitung* were all Whig papers. The editor of the *Journal*, Mr. Charles L. Wilson, was a close personal friend of Lincoln and warmly supported him in his campaign against Douglas. The *Democrat*, edited by John Wentworth, supported Lincoln in the Douglas campaign, and a few days after the re-election of Douglas in November, 1858, advised that Lincoln should be nominated as governor, and that Illinois should present his name to the next National Convention, first for president, and then for vice-president. Both the *Democrat* and the *Journal* favored Seward as president, having little idea that Lincoln could be nominated, but they desired to give him a "favorite son vote" for president. The *Chicago Tribune* printed Lincoln's speeches in full during the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Mr. Horace White accompanying Lincoln and writing the story of the debates and Robert R. Hitt reporting them in shorthand.

The first newspaper in Illinois to propose Lincoln seriously for president was the *Rock Island Advertiser*. Its editor, Mr. Wharton, was a warm supporter of Lincoln. But Joseph Medill had already determined to stand with the

Tribune, which on February 16, 1860, came out in a strong editorial for Abraham Lincoln as its candidate for president of the United States.

7. *Lincoln and the Chicago pulpit*.—In considering the strength of public sentiment in Chicago favorable to Lincoln, the pulpit must not be overlooked. While the ministers of Chicago were not in complete agreement in political matters, a majority of them were opposed to slavery. Mention has already been made of the severe criticism of Douglas in Chicago in 1854. In that criticism the pulpit had a conspicuous share. A meeting of the Chicago ministers was held, and the Chicago clergy to the number of twenty-five sent Douglas a signed protest against his responsibility for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, a reproof which Douglas felt so keenly that he replied to it on the floor of the Senate.

Mention should also be made of the Chicago memorial on emancipation. It was the outgrowth of a public meeting, held in Bryan Hall, on Sunday, September 7, 1862. A memorial then drafted, representing the judgment of the Christian people of Chicago, was conveyed to Mr. Lincoln on Saturday, September 13, by Reverend Dr. William W. Patton of the First Congregational Church, and Reverend John Dempster, D.D. This interview has been much misrepresented, and it has been declared that these ministers undertook to tell Mr. Lincoln what God wanted him to do. A careful account of the meeting, however, is among the papers of the Maryland Historical Society,¹⁷ and it shows that while Mr. Lincoln shrewdly catechized these brethren, he gained from them precisely the knowledge which he wanted, which was that the sentiment of the churches represented by these ministers was such as to sustain the President in

¹⁷ *President Lincoln and the Chicago Memorial on Emancipation*, Baltimore, 1888.

issuing his Proclamation of Emancipation.¹⁸ Secretary Wells, who arranged the interview, seemed to be in no doubt that it was effective, and Secretary Stanton testified that it had great weight with Lincoln.

8. *The Convention of 1860.*—The crowning contribution of Chicago to the career of Abraham Lincoln was in offering him the city as the place for the holding of the National Republican Convention of 1860. No national political convention had been held in a city so far from the great centers of population. Norman B. Judd, of Chicago, was a member of the National Committee, and secured the convention for his own home town. Fully a third of the Illinois delegates were for Seward, and two-thirds of the delegates were for candidates other than Lincoln; but the bringing of the convention to Chicago was what made Lincoln president. It was not easy to nominate him in Chicago; it would have been impossible in any other large city in the United States.

In the boisterous young city by the lake, Seward was popular, but Lincoln had more effective shouters than even Seward could muster. Nor was Lincoln's strength wholly in the shouting; very astute were the men who managed his campaign. The galleries were potent then as now but even more potent were the conferences held in hotel bedrooms; and that also has been true in later conventions.

Chicago furnished the theater for this grand act, but the theater is not the play. Chicago furnished much of the thought and adroit planning that resulted in Lincoln's nomination.

Chicago did not dictate the nomination. That was wrought by the combination of interests opposed to Seward,

¹⁸ The original draft of this document, contributed by President Lincoln, at the instance of Isaac N. Arnold, to the Ladies Committee of the Sanitary Fair, to be sold for the benefit of invalid soldiers, was burned with the collections of this Society in the Great Fire. The sum of \$3,500 had been paid for the paper by the late Thomas B. Bryan.

and after failure to discover another candidate who could carry the convention with good prospect also of carrying the election; but the influence of Chicago was potent and effective.

PERMANENT MEMORIALS OF LINCOLN

This city of Chicago may well remember with pride that here was made the life-mask that preserves to all posterity the living lineaments of Abraham Lincoln. In 1857 Stephen A. Douglas, ever noted for acts of generosity, sent a young cousin of his wife's, Leonard W. Volk, to Rome to complete his studies in sculpture. Leonard W. Volk is said not to have been an artist of commanding ability. His bust and statue of Lincoln do not rank among the greatest achievements of the sculptor's art; and because these are not supremely great he may have believed that the life-mask which he made in Chicago in the spring of 1860, when Lincoln was in this city trying the Sand-Bar Case, and the casts of Lincoln's hands which he made in Springfield on the Sunday following Lincoln's nomination for the presidency, were themselves not a notable accomplishment. But in this he was certainly mistaken. Whatever Volk lacked of the genius that might have made him a great sculptor, he did not lack mechanical skill to make a perfect cast of Lincoln's hands and face.

It was Volk's good fortune, and the world's, that he met Lincoln in the period of his triumph, when Lincoln's facial muscles had reached their mature development and before he wore a beard, and that he gave to us that which every sculptor must reckon with as his basic material for the face and hands of Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln stands in marble and bronze in many cities of America and of foreign nations. From the stark realism of Barnard to the companionable democracy of Borglum, and to the serene dignity of the new statue by French

which is to grace the new Lincoln Memorial in Washington, they are a notable group. But Chicago must ever be proud of her possession of St. Gaudens' masterpiece at the entrance of Lincoln Park. For all time to come, this noble statue, presented to the park by bequest of a member of the Chicago Historical Society, the late Eli Bates, will perpetuate honorably the face and form of Abraham Lincoln. This stands, as it ought to stand, in Chicago. May this city seek also to perpetuate his simple honesty, his consecration to duty, his patriotism, and his rugged faith in God and the people.

